2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

were called by them in turn. Every one who worked received a share of the harvest commensurate, not with his work but with what the owner could spare. The more an owner gave, the higher his repute and the greater his assurance of getting service in his turn. For other activities, such as house building, the workers received only their meals but again they had the assurance of future help.

Work sharing may be considered the basis of the whole arrangement but the group having been formed for this purpose, was kept in running order by constant exhibitions of goodwill. These took the practical form of gifts and gifts of the one commodity which the Papago ever possessed in excess of their need: food.

When a hunter brought home a deer, he went to each main house and presented a portion proportionate to the size of the family there. If there were hunters in that house, his family would soon receive a similar gift: if not it would be any other food they could afford. But with such relatives, there was a distinct obligation not to cease giving even though there should be no return. The investment was a long term affair to be realized on in the future if not the present.

The women treated each other similarly. Whenever a special dish was cooked in one house, children would be sent around to carry portions of it to all the others. Some groups went so far that they interchanged such food gifts every day at the evening meal, the only heavy one. (App. I, 3 C and D. I. 8. C. D and E) "So you were never hungry. Even if you didn't cook one day, a dish would be sure to come in from some of the relatives." As the groups grew larger, not every house could be so treated. (I, 8, A & B). Then a woman would give regularly only to her husband's siblings (I. 3. A. 2; I. 7) with, perhaps, some old people who needed help. Or there might be family cliques and favoritism. (I. 3; I. 9). One woman, who happened to have both brothers and sisters nearby, "always gave to her brothers for she thought the sisters could cook for themselves." But even if certain families were not often included, a gift must be sent to them now and then to keep up good feeling. (I. 2. A; I. 4. A; I. 5. A).

The geographic group had ceremonial obligations as well as economic ones. Every Papago youth was expected to become a "ripe man" through the performance of certain ceremonial acts which conferred a blessing but also subjected him to supernatural dangers. In both danger and blessing the kin were thought to share and therefore, while the youth fasted and bathed to purify himself, the kin abstained from salt and bathed also. When I inquired what

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

In love, she again showed independence. For a shaman to have more than one wife was standard custom but Chona resented her co-wife. She felt "unnaturally" and against all precedent the same emotions that a White woman is expected to feel "naturally" in such a circumstance. The result was a minor rebellion, soon settled. Chona's life, on the whole, presents a fair picture of the crises which come to a Papago woman, heightened by a dynamic personality.

115 562 [595 756]

I

We lived at Mesquite Root and my father was chief there. That was a good place, high up among the hills, but flat, with a little wash where you could plant corn. Prickly pear grew there so thick that in summer, when you picked the fruit, it was only four steps from one bush to the next. And cholla cactus grew and there were ironwood trees. Good nuts they have! There were birds flying around, doves and woodpeckers, and a big rabbit sometimes in the early morning, and quails running across the flat land. Right above us was Quijotoa Mountain, the one where the cloud stands up high and white when we sing for rain.

159^x

We lived in a grass house and our relatives, all around us on the smooth flat land, had houses that were the same. Round our houses were, with no smoke hole and just a little door where you crawled in on hands and knees. That was good. The smoke could go out anywhere through the thatch and the air could come in. All our family slept on cactus fibre mats against the wall, pushed tight against it so centipedes and scorpions could not crawl in. There was a mat for each two children, but no, nothing over us. When we were cold, we put wood on the fire.

159^x 361 342 [513]

Early in the morning, in the month of Pleasant Cold, when we had all slept in the house to keep warm, we would wake in the dark to hear my father speaking.

159^x 867

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our fathers spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming.

"Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practise running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives."

For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark. I went to sleep, and then he pinched my ear. "Wake up! Do not be idle!"

Then we got up. It was the time we call morning-stands-up, when it is

159^x 821

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

x 159 But we did not stay at Mesquite Root all the time. We were hungry
221 people, we and my father's brothers and his cousins who lived around us. In those winter days my father went to hunt deer and sometimes we all went with him down over the Mexican border to pick the century plant and roast it or to get stalks for our basketry or clay for our pots.

x 159 All the year round we were watching where the wild things grew so we
222 could pick them. Elder Brother planted those things for us. He told us where they are and how to cook them. You would not know if it had not been Given. You would not know you could eat cactus stems and shake the seeds out of the weeds. Elder Brother did not tell the Whites that. To them
[245] he gave peaches and grapes and wheat, but to us he gave the wild seeds and the cactus. Those are the good foods.

There was a kind of cactus called cholla, and when its buds were green we all went and stayed for many days picking them, up in the hills. We
● [345] pulled the tops of some palo verde trees together and piled greasewood bushes over them to make a shelter and there we lived. My uncles made shelters, too, and my mother and my uncles' wives all went together to pick the cactus. They broke off the new stems with tongs and rolled them around on the ground to get the thorns off, and then baked them all night in a big pit. They smelled fresh and fine when they came out. When the big pit was roasting slowly in the night, the women threw green cholla stems on the campfire ashes to cook. We pulled them out, knocked off the thorns, and ate them hot. Ah, good, good food! We ate nothing else for those three weeks. Green things!

At last the giant cactus grew ripe on all the hills. It made us laugh to see the fruit on top of all the stalks, so many, and the men would point to it and say: "See the liquor growing." We went to pick it, to the same place where we always camped, and every day my mother and all the women went out with baskets. They knocked the fruit down with cactus poles. It fell on the ground and all the red pulp came out. Then I picked it up, and dug it out of the shell with my fingers, and put it in my mother's basket. She told me always to throw down the skins with the red inside uppermost,
[82] because that would bring the rain.

It was good at cactus camp. When my father lay down to sleep at night
x 159 he would sing songs about the cactus liquor. And we could hear songs in
533 my uncle's camp across the hill. Everybody sang. We felt as if a beautiful thing was coming. Because the rain was coming and the dancing and the songs.

Where on Quijotoa Mountain a cloud stands
There my heart stands with it.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

mother. My father asked him to sing over me to see what was the matter. He sang all night, and in the morning he said: "You could be a medicine woman." "That cannot be," said my father. "We have one medicine man in the house and it is enough." So the medicine man said he would take out my crystals. He leaned over me and sucked them out of my breast, one by one. They were as long as the joint of my little finger, white and moving a little. He said: "Look, I have taken them out before they got big." Then he made a hole in a giant cactus and put them inside. Then he looked at me and said: "They will grow again, for it is a gift."

IV

In the summer everyone came home to our village and we planted corn. The corn was once a man and he lured a woman away to sleep with him. She stayed a long time, and when she came home, she knew the songs that made the corn grow. So when the men all went to their meeting, this man did not go but he stayed at home hearing his wife sing. The men from the meeting came to speak to him. "Why are you absent?" "Because I am listening to my wife." "How can it be that a man can learn more from a woman than from talking with us? Let us hear her, too."

So she came to the men's meeting and she sat between the chief and her husband. "Sing." And she sang the corn songs.

At the first song those men began to sing. At the second, they danced. At the third, the women came out of the houses, creeping to the council house to listen to the singing. At the fourth, they were all dancing, inside the council house and outside, to that woman's singing.

We sang those songs as we put the corn into the earth, but it was the men who sang, for women do not do those things now. We stood ready with the corn kernels while the men sang, then we went down the field together, each woman behind a man. The man dropped his stick into the soft earth, thud! As deep as my hand is long. The woman dropped in four corn kernels and scraped her bare toes over that red earth to cover them.

Then the corn came up. The fair stalks, the thick root, the broad leaves.

I saw the tassels waving in the wind
And I whistled softly for joy.

My father used to sing that at night while the corn was growing.

I used to like it in the summer time when all our friends and relatives were around us. The houses were scattered all over the flat land; round brush houses like ours. In every house there were women grinding corn.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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PLATE 1

ISOLATED HOUSE IN THE BABOQUIVARI FOOTHILLS

Arizona State Museum

[p. 6]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter IV

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

342
352 HOME to a Papago is a small cluster of low, earth-colored buildings in a clearing encircled by creosote or mesquite bushes and cacti. The house is commonly a one-room structure, but there may be several rooms or, if the family is large, even several small houses. Near by is a ramada, roofed with dry grass and protected on two or three sides by a paling of saguaro ribs or ocotillo branches, which, if watered, may take root in summer and form a wall with green leaves and brilliant red flowers. Here, in good weather, cooking and other household chores are done. Suspended from crotches or pegs in the ceiling beams are bridles and other horse gear, the family washtub, and various domestic paraphernalia. A forked post holds a large olla pottery jar of water from which everyone drinks. (Water is treasured, for it must be hauled [312] by wagon from a well which may be several miles away.) One or more tiny huts serve as storerooms for tools and grain, and space is often set aside for a chicken yard and a corral. In the yard the dogs lie sleeping in the shade of the family wagon.

361
512 The Desert People spend most of the year out of doors. Their personal belongings are kept indoors, and in winter they sleep inside, but at least half the year they cook, eat, work, sleep, and visit in the yard or under the ramada. Nevertheless, there is a high degree of privacy, for the brush and the distance between houses or house clusters allows each family to live unmindful of the neighbors.

312 The old Papago house, a round structure thatched with grass, has not been used in most parts of the Reservation for fifty years. Modern houses are of the Mexican type: wattle-and-daub, adobe, or stone construction. The wattle house, which is built of saguaro ribs or ocotillo branches plastered with mud, can be cheaply and quickly put up by almost anyone. The adobe brick house is more difficult to construct, and usually helpers must be hired, hence the poorer families cannot afford this type of housing. Stone houses, built near accessible rock outcrops, also require considerable labor and skill and are rather rare.

[Text continues on p. 42-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

342 556 Thus the type of house is something of an index to the occupant's economic status. In the more prosperous eastern districts, adobe construction has been so widely accepted that a wattle house is a fairly sure sign that the occupants have a below-average income. In the western districts, however, a wattle house is far more often a sign of resistance to white culture. For example, at the time of this study all the houses in two of the most conservative villages in Hickiwan District were wattle-and-daub, regardless of the individual owner's economic status.

The type of house roof is also an index to prosperity or acculturation or both. Despite the fact that a roof of thatch overlaid with dirt is cooler in summer and warmer in winter, any eastern Papago who can possibly afford it will roof his house with wood, tar paper, or tin. There is one advantage in the white man's roof—it does not leak as much as a dirt roof.

The visitor can also see evidence of economic status and of attitude toward whites in the house furnishings. The poorer families and those antagonistic to white culture have dirt floors and few tables, chairs, beds, stoves, glass window panes, and "store" dishes. In relatively prosperous and acculturated homes—considerably more numerous in the East than in the West—house furnishings may include a good stove, a kerosene refrigerator, a washing machine, and a phonograph or battery radio. In these homes, chairs, tables, beds, some type of stove, and "store" dishes are regarded as necessary for comfort; when families from such homes go to the cactus camp and do without these things, they feel that they are "camping out."

352 556

[778] In a Catholic home there is always a little altar, a small table or shelf draped with white. Here one sees *santos* or holy pictures, a candle in a red glass, and perhaps some paper flowers. An alarm clock, a pencil, and other odds and ends are not considered out of place here.

342 [414] All houses and storerooms, however flimsily built, have doors and some kind of lock. Storerooms are kept locked even during the day except when someone is working close by, and houses are locked when the family goes away for even part of a day. "No one from here would steal anything, but a stranger might."

356 515 House and yard are almost invariably neat and clean; even dirt floors are sprinkled and swept every morning. The Papago also values personal neatness and cleanliness. Neither is easy to achieve in this dusty, water-scarce country.

513 Sleeping arrangements vary greatly according to personal predilection. Most people, except the very old, now have beds, but everyone can, and frequently does, sleep on the floor or the ground without discomfort. As a matter of fact, some of the beds are without mattresses or springs; the owners merely

[Text continues on p. 44-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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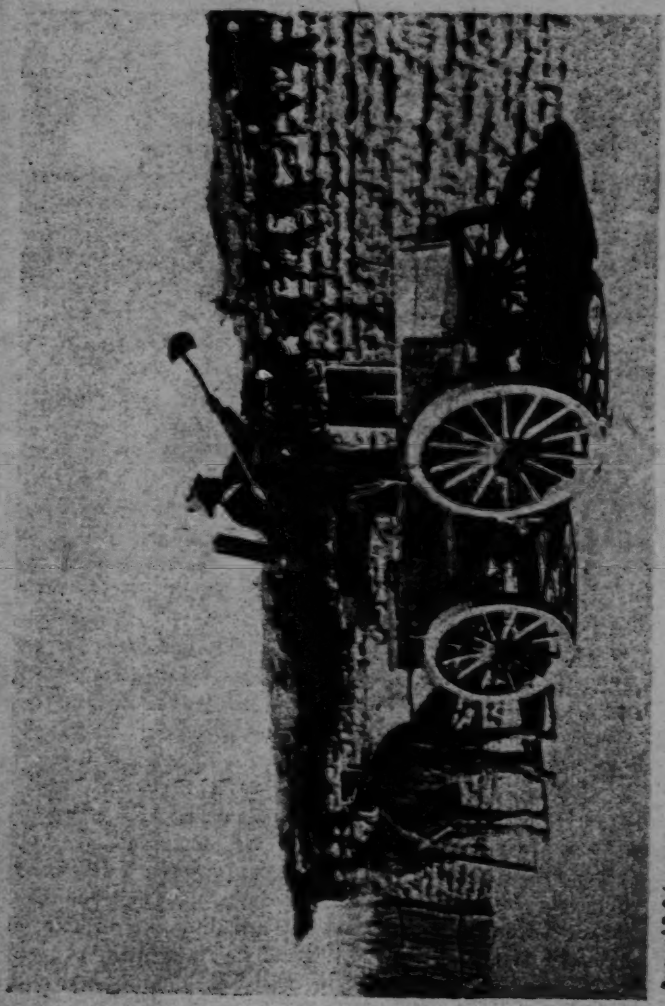
PLATE VII



Repairing the Dirt Roof

[p. 43]

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NV28
Pima NV29

Anciently the Piman method of harvesting maize was to pull up the entire plant, or, in some cases, break it off at the ground, and throw it in piles, care being taken to keep separate the several colors of corn, since they had been planted in different plots; this was man's work. One reason for pulling up and removing the stalks was to have the field cleared for the next season. After Spanish contact, plants were sometimes cut off at the ground with an iron implement. Another historic development associated with turning stock into the field to eat the stalks was to husk the corn directly off the standing plant, the stalk being allowed to remain. The individual first ran a sharpened, hard stick of creosote bush or mesquite through the husk, then broke the ear out and threw it on a pile. In any event, harvesting was begun at a convenient place in the field, and did not proceed by designated direction as among some of the Pueblos. There was no ceremonial restriction against burning the husks, cobs or stalks. Cobs were used as fuel, particularly in cooking, and some stalks might be used in building the walls of a new structure. Saving purple husks to be used as a source of dye was unknown.

Pi Pa 241

Pi Pa 342 372

The plants were piled in one or more heaps, depending upon the size of the field, and women and older children usually gathered around the piles to remove unhusked ears from the stalks and throw them in piles. These ears were then carried to the dwelling in burden baskets (figured by Densmore[9]) by the women.

Although the Pimans [illegible]ked some of their maize, particularly in selecting ears for seed, it was the common practice to partially roast their corn in unhusked ears by placing it in piles and covering with brush; this was set afire, green mesquite branches being used to stir and turn the ears, and, after several minutes of roasting, to throw them out on a bed of grass. During the roasting process much of the husk was burned away. These ears were dried on top of the house for

Pi Pa 251 252

[9] Densmore, *Papago Music*, pl. 10.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

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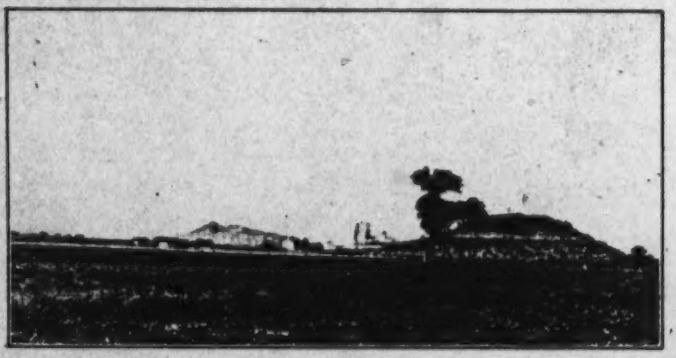
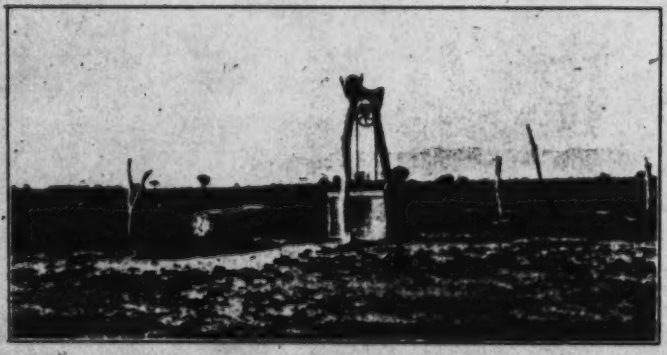


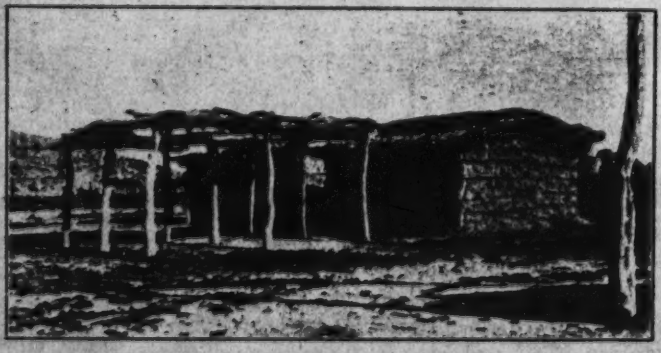
a, San Xavier village and mission

312



b, Well and water trough at San Xavier

342



c, Papago home at San Xavier

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

133

a, Baboquivari Mountain, southwest of Sells, Ariz.

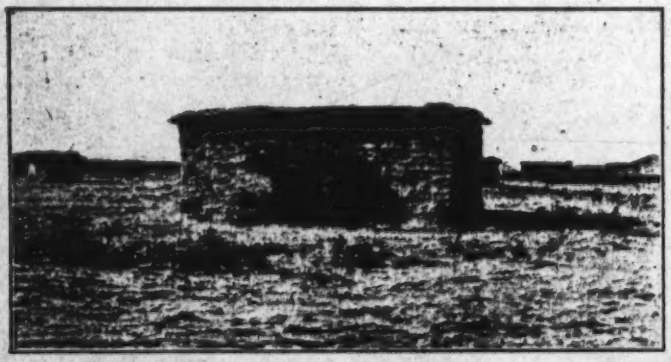
[31/2]

b, Foot of Baboquivari Mountain

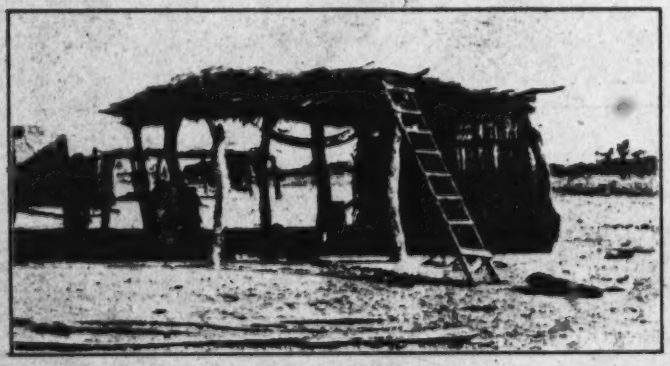
c, Opposite Baboquivari Mountain

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

342



a, House in Santa Rosa village.



b, Ramada in Santa Rosa village.

417

c, Enclosure around water hole in Vomari village.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

here also bees deposit their honey and bats make their homes. Sometimes rabbits attack the stem to get at the juicy pulp.

To the Indians the sahuaro is invaluable, and by tacit understanding they consider it a crime to cut one down. The grateful fruit comes at a time when most needed, and the Indians leave their habitations to camp among the sahuaro as long as the season lasts. Not only does the fruit then furnish them with their principal means of subsistence, but the greater part is boiled down to a sirup for future consumption in the winter, serving also as material for an intoxicating drink, which is used at the sahuaro festival. The seeds, too, are eaten after having first been ground on the metate, and they taste better than would be expected; the Indians also feed their fowls with them and many sackfuls are brought back to the houses after the sahuaro harvest. The wooden skeletons or ribs of the sahuaro furnish the Papago with light, strong, and elastic building stuff, and from the same material he makes the long stick which is needed to bring the fruit down from its lofty elevation, coloring the pole red with the juice of the fruit. Also chicken coops, chairs, traps, and similar articles of the household are manufactured from sahuaro ribs. Even the wooden tissue bags produced by the woodpeckers are made to serve as water bottles or drinking vessels.

So important a part does this cactus play in the life of the Papago that their year begins with the sahuaro harvest. The season lasts from the middle of June till the middle of July. Every rancheria is supposed to make

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

me from finishing the operation by telling him to ask eight additional dollars for his consent.

Their camp consisted simply of a roof of branches resting on four poles, sufficient to provide some shade during the day. Early in the morning all the female members of the household could be seen proceeding on their fruit-gathering expedition, each armed with a large basket and the usual pole, about twenty feet long and made from two pieces of sahuaro rib. At the top of the pole, as well as lower down, there is a kind of hook made by tying crosswise in these two places a small piece of greasewood by the aid of which the spiny fruit is broken off. Two or three hours later they returned, each carrying on her head her share of a heavy harvest. The skin with its spines had been removed in the field, so the inside of the huge water-tight basket presented an appetizing mass of crimson fruit pulp, as well as a great amount of similarly colored juice, which would keep for a few hours only. Most of the contents of the baskets was immediately emptied into large jars, to be boiled for about two hours, when the mass is strained in order to separate the numerous small black seeds. The juice is boiled for hours longer until it becomes sirup (*sitoli*), which is kept for future use in small earthen-ware jars, each neatly sealed with a piece of broken pottery and sticky mud. Being pleasant to the taste and much superior to molasses, I found this sirup excellent as part of my provisions. I also relished the fresh juice of the fruit when brought in cool in the morning.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

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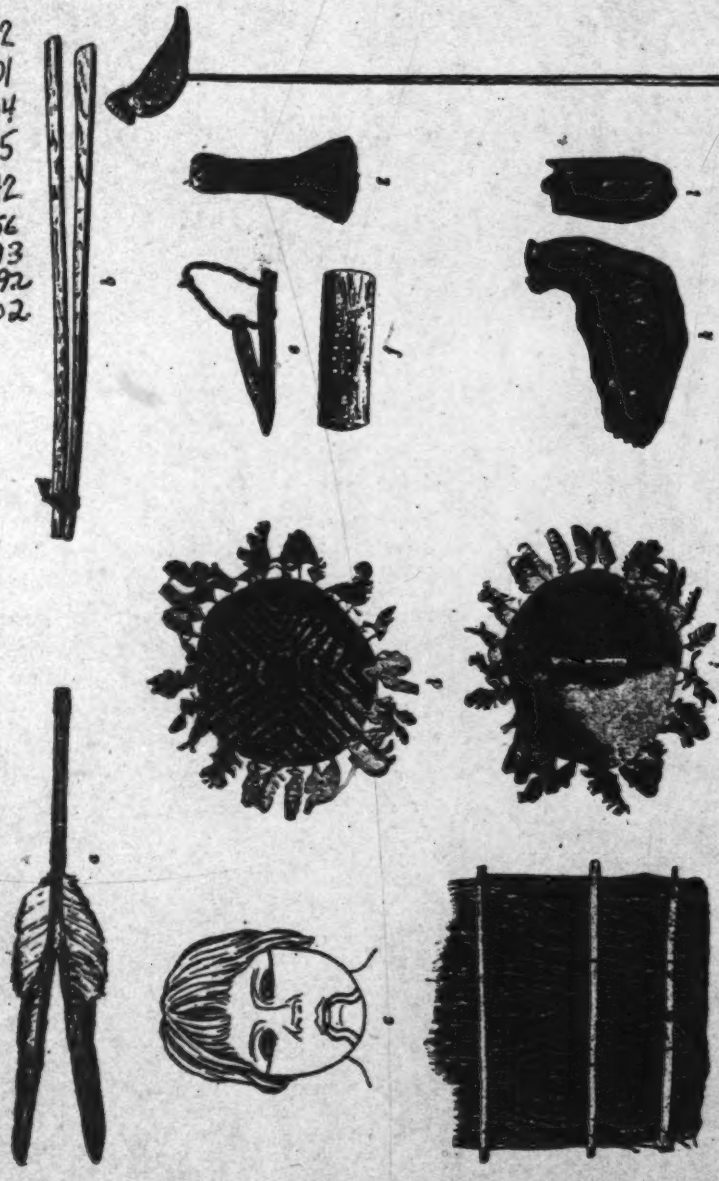

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a. Medicine man's plume; length, 60 cm. b. Wooden tweezers used in pulling off certain cactus fruit; length, 38 cm. c. Tattooing marks on woman. d, f. Front (class, 44 cm.) and back (class, 44 cm.) of rawhide shield used in Apache-Papago battles. e. Wooden spear, attached to one (right) foot; length, 16 cm. g. Wooden implement, found at a tomb; length, 22 cm. h. Hair-brush of fiber; length, 15 cm. i. Dance to grass hut; at present made from wheat straw; height, 48 cm. j, l. Rings of thorny matter, caused by woodpeckers' work in the saguaro cactus; used in ceremonies and cups; height of the smaller one, 17 cm. m. Bird, made from yucca root and painted blue; carried upright at the Santa Rosa feast; length of bird, 8 cm.

[Facing p. 110]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

having a delightful time meeting friends and enjoying the gifts of autumn. "When she decides to go home she will receive loads of provisions of the new year," remarked my interpreter. One of the principal men of Quitovac was making a round of calls for the same purpose. He had only a small field himself, for at Quitovac there is much competition with the Mexicans, but, as an Indian said, "he has only to sit down; all is coming to him."

On our arrival at La Nariz, Thursday, November 11, a cold, disagreeable wind from south south-west was blowing over the llano, after dark changing to westerly, whereupon it suddenly became northerly and warmer, the sky clearing of some threatening clouds in the south. In the small hours of the morning I awoke, to my surprise, from light rain falling on my tent, which lasted for half an hour. I had made friends among the Indians at the last place visited, and their compatriots here did their best to be obliging. The next day all the men gathered outside of my tent, and we had a five hours' talk on matters of interest to both sides. La Nariz is an Indian rancheria, its name being derived from a near-by mountain which, from a certain point of view, presents the profile of a human face with a well-marked nose.

There were only five families here living in rectangular houses of ocotillo poles laid horizontally and plastered with mud. I found them pleasant to deal with and anxious to preserve what there was left to them of ancient beliefs and customs. The soul of this endeavor was an elderly medicine-man, the principal man of the place. Two medicine lodges were noticed here, one of them

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

[Fancher p. 159]

312-2
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362

THE PERMANENT POND AT QUITOVAQUITA, WITH THE HOME OF MANUEL ORTEGA ON THE BANK AND THE LEGENDARY MOUNTAIN AT THE RIGHT

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

grimage and ceremony may entail floods, drought, sickness, even death. To avoid these the people travel many miles, with teams or on horseback, under a blazing sun or in rainstorms, to participate in the ceremony. The place where the monster lived covers an area of two or three hundred acres of whitish earth or calcareous material, which the Indians claim to be the remains of the flesh of the monster. Below the surface are massses of immense bones. Quitovaquita is surrounded by tropical desert vegetation of palo verde, mesquite, palo fierro, giant or saguaro cactus, pitahaya or organ cactus, and other desert growth. It consists of twenty or thirty one-story houses, built of adobe or of stone imbedded in mud.

In the center of the village is a *charco*, or large pool, which is fed by a number of springs and furnishes water for the village, and drinking and wading places for burros, horses, and cattle. When the pool is filled, the water is used to irrigate the gardens of the villages. During the period of the fiesta the village is thronged with visiting Indians, and those who cannot find accommoda-

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28
[facing p.164(B)]
Pl. 342

THE HOME OF MANUEL ORTEGA

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

At the Well every family
had a house or some sort of shelter, and there they kept 221
a duplicate set of heavy household utensils such as jars [415]
and grinding stones.

When they settled for the winter the men hunted deer in the nearby mountains and the women made pottery and baskets, although many families wandered about hunting and trading and did not settle. The Altar valley in Sonora was productive all the year and families from the north traveled down there to work for their richer kinsmen. There was, in fact, a constant going to and fro over all Papagueria.

In June the white flowers began to appear on the giant 222
cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* and then every family returned [824]
to pick the fruit and to carry it down to the summer villages for their great yearly ceremony which would bring the rain. The rains came in July, then the fields were planted and the new year had begun.

In recent days these migrations have been extended rather than otherwise. The Papagos now plant winter wheat, as they were taught by the Spaniards, and must come home in May to harvest it. Often they go to the Gila and harvest the Pima crop, working on shares, and in July they go again to the Gila to pick the Pimas' cotton. Thus there are only a few months in the year when the people can be found at either the Fields or the Wells.

Houses at all the villages are now made of adobe. In 342
the old days they were low, brush covered structures, of what has been called "wash basin shape," and the ceremonial houses are still made on that ancient pattern. There were no windows and no smoke hole. The door was a low arch, just high enough for a man to crawl through, and the only furniture was a number of mats made of sotol strips *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* laid around the edge of the one room, and which served both to sit and to sleep on. Valuable property, such as the man's bow and arrows and the woman's basketry materials, were thrust into thatch or hung from the rafters. [824 265]

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES, ACCESSORIES, AND PROCESSES

Houses

342 A dwelling on the flat land where the longest permanent residence occurred consisted of several structures: a dome-shaped brush house, one or more shades or *ramadas* for outdoor living, a small hut fifty or more feet away for menstrual segregation, and a low brush storehouse. The ceremonial house of each village was built like the residences, but larger.

The brush house is the same as that in which the Spaniards found the Papagos in 1697 (18). It has lasted until recent years, when the rectangular adobe house was borrowed from Mexico.

The brush house is built in a circular excavation about two feet deep. The core of the house consists of four or, for a large house, nine mesquite *(Prosopis velutina)* or ironwood *(Olneya tesota)* posts, forked at the top. Through the forks of the uprights, lighter poles of the same wood are laid. A close roofing of light, slender giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* is now laid transversely across the horizontals, with a strong mesquite pole at each end. Slender mesquite poles are planted in a circle around the central core, about four feet away from it. Their tips are then bent over and tied to the horizontals and strong transverse poles with strips of soapweed fiber *(Yucca glauca)*. This forms the skeleton of the shallow dome which has been called the "wash basin" shape. The ribs of the dome are bound together with horizontal withes of ocotillo *(Fouquieria splendens)*, the frame having three rows of withes about two feet apart.

The house is thatched with any herbage available, but the preferred material is *siwĭpĭki wacai*, a red grass which grows about three feet tall. Upright bundles of this grass, about four inches thick, are piled against the frame, resting on the ground with their tops coming just above the lowest binding withe. They are then tied to the frame in a double row, a bundle inside opposite one outside. The tying

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

is done with a large needle of sahuaro rib threaded with 342
fiber.

The roof was not finished until after the thatch was put on. Often, across the row of sahuaro ribs, another row was laid in the opposite direction for strength. If not, the builders proceeded to the next step which was to pile up a thick mass of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)* on top of the sahuaro ribs. Earth was heaped over the creosote bush.

The doorway, which was the only opening, was closed with a plank-shaped structure made of several bundles of straw, held between pairs of sahuaro ribs tied transversely at top and bottom. To keep out animals during the day the family used a light door of sahuaro ribs tied together with buckskin thongs.

The shade was made exactly like the core of the house, 343
including the roof, and was generally placed away from the house so as to get the breeze on all four sides.

A family might own various storage huts. The more elaborate ones were built like the main dwelling except that they had no central core. Mesquite poles *(Prosopis velutina)* were set in a circle about eight feet in diameter and their tops bent over, not to meet but to form an opening about three feet wide. The poles were bound with ocotillo withes, thatched, and given a door like the main house. The sahuaro ribs for the roof were laid directly across the three-foot aperture at the top. They were then piled with brush and earth.

The menstruation hut, always some distance from the house, was a very low, circular structure with room for one woman to lie or sit in. The more elaborate ones were made in dome shape by planting mesquite poles in a circle, bending them over and tying the tops together with aloe fiber. Painstaking women might thatch the huts with straw, others would throw a mat on them or pile up a few bushes. Near temporary camps the women might merely tie the tops of a few creosote bushes *(Covillea glutinosa)* together. At present many women have well made adobe huts.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

311 In the spring of 1890 the land was allotted to the Indians in severalty, and it may now be divided as to quality as follows:

	Acres.
Land that is farmed	500
Land that is not now farmed on account of deficient water supply	1,120
Timbered land allotted	5,000
Mesa land, suitable for pasturage, allotted	25,000
Mountain land, including desert land that can be pastured 2 months in the year	20,000

The 1,500 acres not farmed on account of deficient water supply may be farmed when a better and more economical mode of irrigation is adopted than that now practiced by the Indians. The 5,000 acres of timbered land is what is usually called mesquite land, from which the Papagos procure their fuel and sell considerable quantities from year to year. The 20,000 acres of mountain land is next to worthless.

There are 94 heads of families on the reservation, and a little more than 5 acres of farming land (land that is farmed) are allotted to each head of a family. The 500 acres of allotted land are surveyed and staked out. The area of land cultivated is diminished, and no progress is being made in methods of farming. Most of their income seemed to be obtained from the sale of wood and hay cut on the reservation. [#34]

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS RAISED AND STOCK OWNED BY INDIANS FOR 1889-1890.

241

PRODUCTS, STOCK, AND LAND.	Number.	Value.
Total value of agricultural products		$5,270
Bushels of barley	4,000	2,000
Bushels of corn	1,000	1,000
Bushels of vegetables	1,000	1,000
Melons	200	20
Pumpkins	1,000	100
Tons of hay cut	120	1,200
231 Total value of live stock		4,325
Horses owned by Indians	200	3,000
Cattle owned by Indians	150	1,200
Domestic fowls owned by Indians	100	25
Acres under fence	14,000	
Fence made during year (rods)	7,700	

342 All of the Papago Indians living on reservations are in a village near San Xavier church. Their dwellings 493 are mostly rude adobe, with dirt roofs and few windows, and are almost destitute of furniture except the most 291 primitive. There are only 14 comfortable adobe houses. Many of the Indians own farm wagons, though their 797 farming tools are rude and unserviceable. The men all wear the civilized dress; the women also wear dresses similar to those worn by the whites, but leave off their shoes on ordinary occasions. It is claimed that 230 of the Indians living on the reservation are members of the Catholic church.

STATISTICS OF THE RESERVATION PAPAGOS.

162 Whole number living on the reservation	362
Males	181
Females	179
Children under 1 year of age	24
Males	11
Females	13
Number married	180
Number over 20 years of age who can read	10
Number who can read and write	10
Number who can use English enough for ordinary conversation	30
Number of children of school age	93

658 797 SCHOOLS.—The Catholic church has provided 2 neat, well-furnished schoolrooms adjoining San Xavier church, which will accommodate about 70 pupils. A school was maintained there during the year 1889 by the Sisters of the order of Saint Joseph, without pecuniary aid from the United States. The average attendance for the year ending June 30, 1890, was about 20. In addition to elementary studies the girls were taught sewing, crocheting, knitting, and minor household duties. A few of them became quite skillful in operating the sewing machine. The great drawback to the prosperity of the school was the irregularity in attendance. The school was again opened in September, 1890.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water.

Pa [352]

The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 497 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The trails follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 2073 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 791 197

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian boodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [791]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is clean and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called pecole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but such possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and these are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, heron, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[356] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

18 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 2 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tecolote to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to

000